

ENVIRONMENTALISM AND MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

The major objective of this paper is to examine the changing views of the environmentalism in Japan and to trace the influences of modernization on the environmentalism. To accomplish this, I will present a theoretical explanation and review the historical stages of Japanese environmentalism, focusing on the relationship between the development of environmental movement and the modernization process in Japan. To further elaborate this point, the paper will proceed with a discussion of drastic changes in public concerns for environmental problems and perceptions of quality of life among the Japanese populace during and after the rapid economic growth period. It is hoped that this discussion will illustrate why Japanese environmentalism today has become more diverse and more active than ever. In conclusion, the challenge for the future environmentalism is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Japanese environmentalism today is not only alive, but also is able to mobilize much broader public supports for its increasing goals. Few social movements have got such widespread support among the general public in Japan. Why has the Japanese environmentalism been so successful in mobilizing great support and generating numerous and diverse organization? There are two major reasons: First, the seriousness of environmental destruction highly stimulated public support for environmental protection in today's Japan. In particular, local grassroot anti-pollution movements have emerged in reaction to the wide-ranging

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deterioration of pollution and waste problems in and near their communities, caused by the industrialization and urbanization during the rapid economic growth of 1960s and 70s (Miyamoto, 1989, 1991).

The second reason is the emergence of an alternative lifestyle such as post-materialism among the Japanese people. After the World War II, Japanese economic growth created widespread affluence among the general population and Japan became an affluent, middle-class society. In particular, the emergent "urban-middle class" began to be concerned with a non-materialistic lifestyle and began to search for unpolluted natural settings as a counterpart to their urban environment (Mitsuda, 1991).

Unexpectedly, the very success of economic growth, the so-called "economic miracle" has encouraged establishing and strengthening environmental movements in the process of Japanese modernization.

In many countries ecological destruction has been discussed as unavoidable in the process of modernization and, further, it has been said that environmental disruption is the necessary sacrifice and cost for economic growth. The causes of economic growth and environmental degradation in advanced industrial societies have received considerable attention from sociologists. Some have explored theoretical models for analyzing the relationship between economic expansion and deterioration of environmental problems (Schaiberg, 1975, 1980; Humphrey and Buttel, 1982; Dickens, 1992).

The models explored by the American and European scholars can be adopted to explain the structure of environmental problems and the emergence of environmentalism in Japan. However, on examining the "drastic" environmental crisis and "rapid" development of environmental movements in the postwar society of

Table 1. International Comparison of Socio-economic Activities
per Inhabitable Land Area (Index with Japan as 100)

Year Country	1970		1980			
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.	U.K.	W. Germany
GNP	100	6	100	4	19	42
Car ownership	100	17	100	7	18	36
Energy consumption	100	12	100	10	26	45

Source: U.N. Statistics

Japan, the following factors should be added.

The first is the overcrowding in metropolitan areas relating to social and economical activities. Japan is a country of densely populated islands, and socio-economic activities are so immense within the very limited space (see Table 1). It should be noted that 67 percent of our national land is consists of forests and mountainous areas.

Half of our total population lives in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka megalopolis, roughly a 400 km corridor, along the southern coast. The environmental problems are aggravated by the fact that Japan is one of the most socio-economically active and densely populated countries per land area in the world (OECD, 1977).

The second factor is the extremely rapid growth of industrial production and the over-consumption of energy and natural resources. Historically, Japanese society was not an opponent of Nature, nor did Japan aim at conquering and managing Nature for human use, in contrast with the Western society (Watsuji, 1935). Until the early 1950s, Japan remained a largely agrarian society and ecologically sustainable society.

However, Japan surged ahead in economic growth after WWII. Rapid economic growth occurred from 1960 to 1973, with Japan's GNP rising at an average annual rate of 10.3 percent. Employment in agriculture and other primary industries dropped from almost 50 percent of the workforce in 1950 to about 10 percent in 1980. At the same time, employment in manufacturing grew from 22 to 35 percent and service sector employment doubled from 29 percent to 60 percent. This breakneck transition from an agricultural to industrial economy and beyond was accompanied by dramatic environmental deterioration, i.e., the "kogai" problem. In other words, environmental pollution levels in Japan rose at an accelerating and alarming rate, more rapidly than in any other industrialized country. This increase in environmental pollution was not only detrimental to the physical environment, it also had a negative impact on the lives and health of many people as well (Miyamoto, 1989: 99).

The third factor is the economic growth-oriented social attitudes and values among the Japanese people in general. During the economic growth, the vast majority enjoyed a high income and material affluence. "The growth myth" of mass-production, mass-consumption, and mass-waste lifestyle was predominant in Japan at that time. The government, industries, mass media, and even schools

began to praise the way of more efficient production of commodities (Sawa, 1994). Some public opinion surveys indicate that the Japanese consciousness for environmental crises from the local level to the global level was the lowest amongst industrialized countries (Dunlap, 1989; OECD, 1991).

To summarize, it can be said that the process of modernization since the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the rapid economic growth of 1960s and 70s have transformed Japanese society from an ecologically sustainable society to an ecologically destructive society (Funabashi, 1992:13).

EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE ENVIRONMENTALISM: A THEORITICAL EXPLANATION

It is my thesis that the success of Japanese economic growth stimulates the establishing and strengthening of environmentalism in the process of modernization. Environmentalism becomes a significant socio-political force to criticize and change the modern industrial society in the wake of affluence and broad diffusion of a high quality of life among the Japanese. Additionally, an alternative lifestyle emerges in search for a post-materialism (Inglehart, 1990) and an ecologically-sound way of living, as a result of aggravating environmental problems and increasing perception of the seriousness on the problems among the general public.

There are two major dimensions to explain theoretically the evolution of Japanese environmentalism: The first is the distinction of "shallow" and "deep" stages of environmental movements (Naess, 1973:97). The second is the level of environmentalism, i.e., at community/local and at national/global levels.

Early environmentalism began its fight against industrial pollution in order to preserve nature for human use. The main objective of this "shallow" environmental movement is the health and affluence of Japanese people. This "shallow" movement was represented by the victims' movement and the anti-pollution movement in 1960s and 70s. The movements were spearheaded by the sufferers from pollution-related diseases, e.g., peasants, fishermen, and their families living in the polluted areas. It was very difficult to mobilize the public support for these movements at that time because the public believed in the myth of economic growth and progress in modern society. The movements became

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gradually stronger as the "*kougai*" (pollution problem) became more serious on the expanding industrialization and urbanization in postwar society (Iijima, 1979).

As the Japanese economy enlarged by mid-1970s, people began to evaluate their lifestyle from the perspective of spiritual and ecological goods rather than material ones. The emergent urban-middle class sought environmental amenities as well as 'peace and quiet life' in the untamed natural settings. This stage of environmentalism can be defined as the "deep" ecological movement. This movement is a rather normative and philosophical one. This stage of the movement was represented by the anti-development movement and the ecological movement in 1980s and 90s. The supporters for these movement began to recognize the aims of a deep ecology-based lifestyle and began to seek an alternative way of living in an ecocentric society.

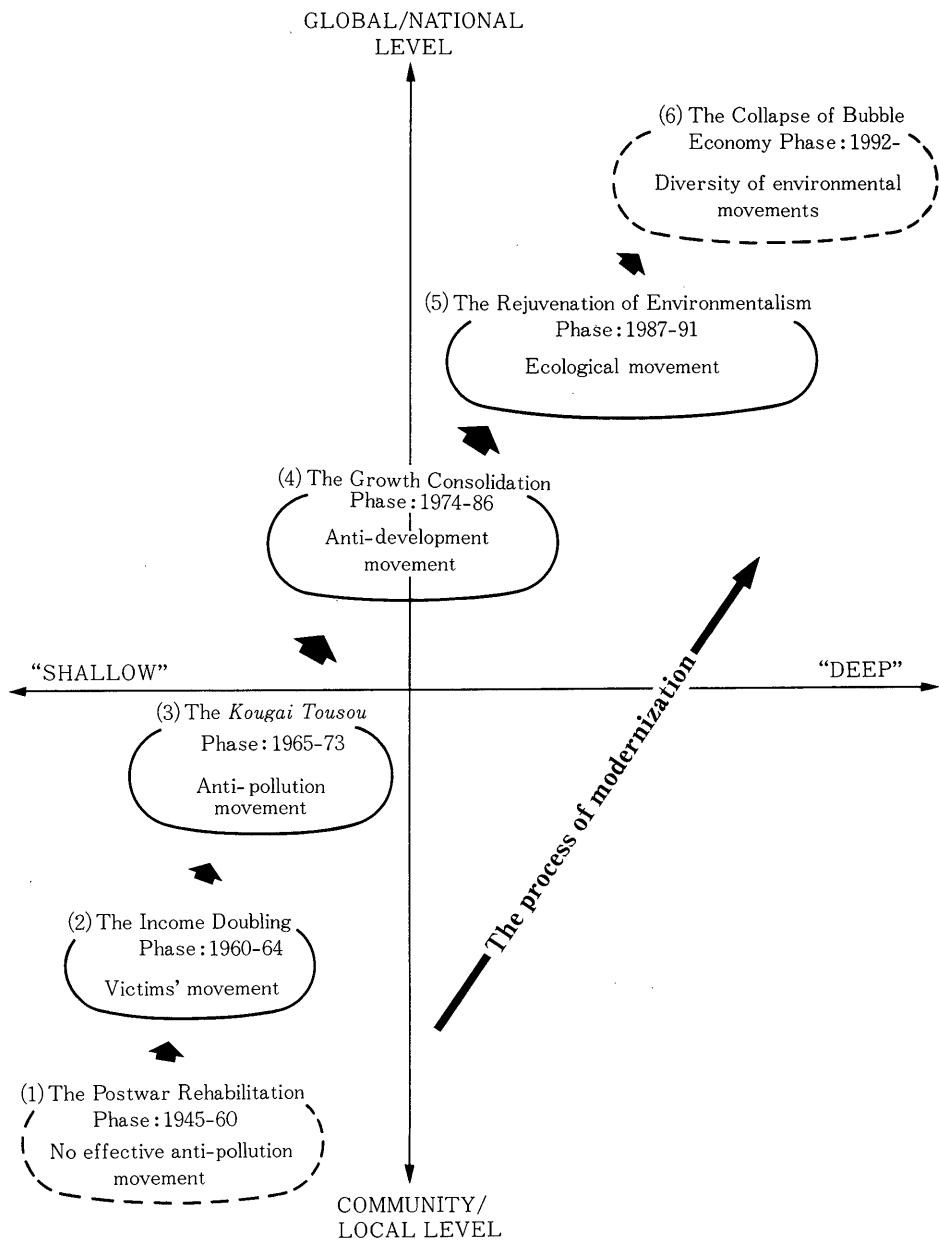
In sum, it can be indicated that environmentalism has shifted from "shallow" to "deep" stages of movement in the process of economic growth.

Next, the level of environmentalism should be discussed in order to understand the evolution of Japanese environmentalism.

As Japanese industrialization and urbanization expanded during economic growth, pollution problems also deteriorated and spread all over the country. Prior to 1960, industrial pollution was mostly limited to certain isolated towns and cities in Japan such as fishing villages, mining towns and pulp-industry cities. Early environmentalism such as the victims' movement began to challenge the polluting industries in or near their community. Their concern of the movement was with residents' health, rather than risks to the larger society. Anti-pollution movement existed mostly at a local level. It was very difficult for the anti-pollution groups to organize a national organization and mobilize the general support for protest against the government and polluting private industries. It can be concluded that early environmentalism in Japan began at the community and local level.

After the rapid economic growth in 1960s, the destruction of environment had greatly expanded and urban pollution problems resulted in the general decline of health and quality of life nationwide. Japanese people necessarily placed great importance on the preservation of the natural environment. The anti-development movement yielded to a more rural conservation perspective to protect natural

Figure 1 Evolution of Japanese Environmentalism: A Theoretical Explanation



habitats (Oyadomari, 1989).

The supporters of the ecological movement in the late 1980s aimed at an ecologically-sound way of living. They were strongly concerned with global environmental issues. Summarizing we can say that Japanese environmentalism has become more and more mature, while its concerns expands from community to global levels.

Figure 1 illustrates the theoretical explanation of Japanese environmentalism in the postwar society. The first axis in Figure 1 denotes the distinction of shallow/deep environmentalism. The second axis indicates the levels of environmentalism, i.e., community/local and national/global levels.

The first wave of environmentalism in Japan was the postwar rehabilitation phase:1945-60. An effective environmental movement did not exist at that time. The second wave was the victims' movement in the income doubling phase: 1960-64. And the third wave was the anti-pollution movement in the *kougai tousou* (anti-pollution movement) phase. These movements were extremely "shallow" since their major aims were the compensation for the victims from pollution and protect against pollution to ensure human health. Most of participants came from the polluted areas.

The fourth wave is anti-development movement in the growth consolidation phase of 1974-86. This movement aims at an alternative lifestyle for harmonious coexistence with Nature. The fifth wave is the ecological movement based on deep ecological philosophy. The concerns of the supporters of these movements are inclined to be more national and global than those of the early environmentalism.

As Figure 1 shows, in the process of Japanese modernization, environmentalism has developed from a "shallow" anti-pollution movement at local level to a "deep" ecological movement at the global level.

HISTORICAL STAGES OF ENVIRONMENTALISM IN JAPAN

The Japanese environmental movement emerged in the 1970s bearing at least a superficial resemblance to that of the United States and E.C..(see, Pierce, Tsurutani and Lovrich,1986). However, the validity of this resemblance bears scrutiny and makes the Japanese case particularly interesting. Environmentalism as a mass movement in the United States became a significant political force in

the wake of affluence and the broad diffusion of high living standards (Hays, 1987; Nash, 1989; Dunlap and Mertig, 1992). In Japan the environmental movement mounted it offensive when the costs rather than the benefits of industrial expansion became notorious and the rewards of industrialization uncertain (Turutani, 1976). The environmental organization is unique in the history of social movements in Japan. Most of the groups are neither bureaucratic nor hierarchical, and operate with in a grassroots democracy (Hase, 1981).

Environmentalism in Japan has gone through six principal stages since World War II. These can roughly be grouped as follows (Mitsuda, 1985, 1992):

- (1) The postwar rehabilitation phase: 1945-60;
- (2) The income doubling phase: 1960-64;
- (3) The *kougai tousou* phase: 1965-73;
- (4) The growth consolidation phase: 1974-86;
- (5) The rejuvenation of environmentalism phase: 1987-91;
- (6) The collapse of Bubble Economy phase: 1992-.

(1) The Postwar Rehabilitation Phase: 1945-60

The economic rehabilitation after the World War II had already resulted in environmental disruption and a lot of serious health hazards caused by pollutions. The most serious cases were Mining industries incidents such as Toho Zinc Mine in Gunma Prefecture and Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi Prefecture, polluting neighboring farmlands and causing damages to farmers and their families. Prior to 1960, industrial pollution was mostly limited to certain fishing villages, mining towns, pulp-industry cities in periphery Japan. During this period many local politicians in economically depressed regions targeted their development strategies on luring chemical and heavy industrial companies into their regions. Governments at any levels gave higher priority to industrial development rather than to the damage to the peasants' lives, local agriculture and fishing in neighboring regions.

The sufferers from pollution gathered petitions and marched to Tokyo for improving their environmental situation and claiming adequate compensation for the victims. Although there were many victims of environmental destruction, it was very difficult to organize an effective anti-pollution movement during this period (Funabashi, 1992:4). The reasons were not only the difficulty of verifying

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the causal relation between environment destruction and victims' diseases in the polluted areas, but also inability of mobilizing public support for the victims' movement.

Little attention among the public was paid to the victims' movements and the tragic consequences of industrial pollution which were becoming evident. The rise in pollution levels led to a sharp increase in the occurrence of pollution-related diseases. Examples of this phenomenon include *Itai-Itai-Disease* (1955), *Kumamoto-Minamata Disease* (1956), *Yokkaichi Asthma* (1961), and *Niigata-Minamata Disease* (1965). These diseases were caused by increased concentrations of various hazardous chemicals and heavy metals in the human body (see Table 2). These pollutants were and are a major hazard to humans as they do not readily metabolize.

Table 2. Reported Victims of Some Principal
Environmental Diseases in Japan

<i>Name of Disease</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Disabled</i>
Minamata mercury poisoning	52	10,000
Itai-Itai disease (cadmium poisoning)	100	280-1,000
Kanemi rice oil disease (poly-chlorinated biphenyl poisoning)	26	over 1,000
Morinaga milk poisoning	133	over 20,000
Yokkaichi asthma	52	1,023

Source:Ui (1970)

Prefectural and local governments such as Tokyo and Osaka induced and enacted the environmental regulation laws. But these governmental efforts of big cities had failed to solve the environmental problems.

(2) The Income Doubling Phase: 1960-64

In 1960, the Ikeda Cabinet announced its National Income Doubling Plan. This plan's objective was to create rapid economic growth to double the national income of Japan. The plan successfully created a "growth at all costs" attitude among the Japanese. The first Comprehensive National Land Development Plan of 1962 reflects this pro-growth mentality. This comprehensive land plan was in every way a development plan formulated by bureaucrats of the Japan Economic Planning Agency, not by Japan's environmental planners. The result was that the

National Development Plan and the National Income Doubling Plan added to the destruction of the harmony between Nature and the people of Japan.

Air and water pollution throughout the country was undergoing a dramatic change for the worse because Japan was converting from water and coal as energy sources to oil. Urban pollution problems such as traffic noise, exhaust emissions and effluent wastes resulted in a general decline in the health and quality of life for the Japanese. By the 1960s the scope of industrial pollution expanded greatly as real GNP catapulted to new levels (Map 1).

At first, mass media attention on environmental problems was scarce. The general populace remained ignorant of the need for policies designed to limit levels of pollutants discharged into the environment and of the tragic consequences that followed.

The early environmentalism in Japan was spearheaded by fishermen, peasants, families of workplace victims of pollution, and students. By the end of the 1960's the citizen-based environmental movement, so-called "*Kougai Tousou* (Anti-pollution movement)" emerged. It was, at that time, anything but elitist.

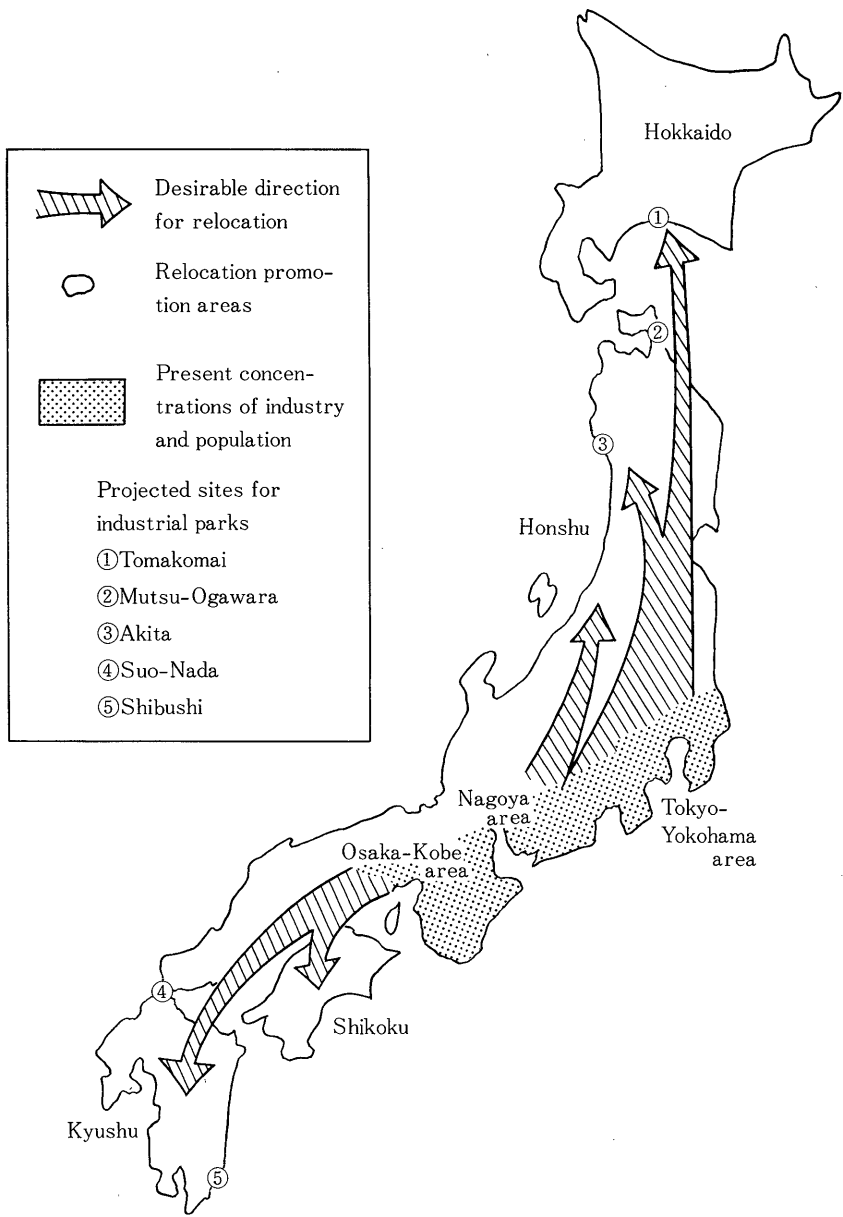
While the problems relating to continually increasing pollution levels worsened between 1955 and 1964, Japanese policies to correct those problems were almost nonexistent. The National Income Doubling Plan and the First Comprehensive National Land Development Plan exacerbated the environmental deterioration throughout rural Japan.

(3) The *Kougai Tousou* Phase: 1965-73

In 1969 the Japanese government passed the Second Comprehensive National Development Plan. This plan had two incompatible objectives which were consequently difficult to pursue simultaneously. First, the plan promoted large-scale industrial development so as to improve Japan's competitiveness in the world economy. Second, this plan aimed at controlling environmental pollution in order to improve the quality of life for the Japanese people. In recognition of this incapability the government reexamined and amended the Second Comprehensive Plan in 1972 so as to cope with Japan's worsening environmental conditions.

During the second phase of Japanese environmental policy from 1965 to 1973, systematic policies centered on the prevention of industrial pollution. These policies were created in response to an increasingly growing social movement

Map 1 New Industrial Pattern



Source: Tanaka, 1972:85

organized to protest against environmental pollution. In August 1967 the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control was enacted. This law improved the administration and control of environmental pollutants significantly. Policies at this time focused on direct controls of pollution, e.g., enactment and enforcement of laws regulating the seven types of pollution: air, water, noise, noxious odors, soil, ground and excessive industrial vibration pollution.

In 1970 fourteen laws relating to environmental protection were enacted and the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control was amended by the Japanese Diet. When the Basic Law was first enacted, it espoused the protection of human health and contained a so-called "harmonization clause", i.e., a clause which stated that Japanese environmental policies should be carried out in harmony with the sound development of the economy. Since this harmonization clause could be misinterpreted as giving priority to economic interest, it was deleted in the 1970 Diet session.

In 1973 the Pollution-Related Health Damage Compensation Law was enacted. This act induced the government to pay compensation to the sufferers from a certain pollutions such as Minamata disease. The Pollution-Related Health Damage Compensation Law resulted from the victims' movement in the 1960s and the four court-victories of pollution disease suits, i.e., Itai-Itai disease suit (August, 1972), Nigata Minamata disease suit (September, 1971), Yokkaichi Asthma suit (July, 1972), and Minamata disease suit (March, 1973). However, the law did not really provide a solution. Many victims are not entitled to receive a fair compensation. It should be noted that these policies were "top-down", meaning that citizen leaders of the anti-pollution movement were excluded from the policy making process.

In 1971 the Environmental Agency was established in order to coordinate and implement environmental policies which had previously been carried out separately by individual ministries or industries. Its creation was a landmark in the development of Japanese environmental policies and for social movements organized to combat environmental pollution. In addition, a regulatory system known as "PPP" (the Polluter Pay Principle) was established so that companies targeted for governmental pollution control projects or that caused injuries to people by pollution were required to pay compensatory damages (see Miyamoto, 1989:208-242). Because pollution and industrialism were deemed synonymous at

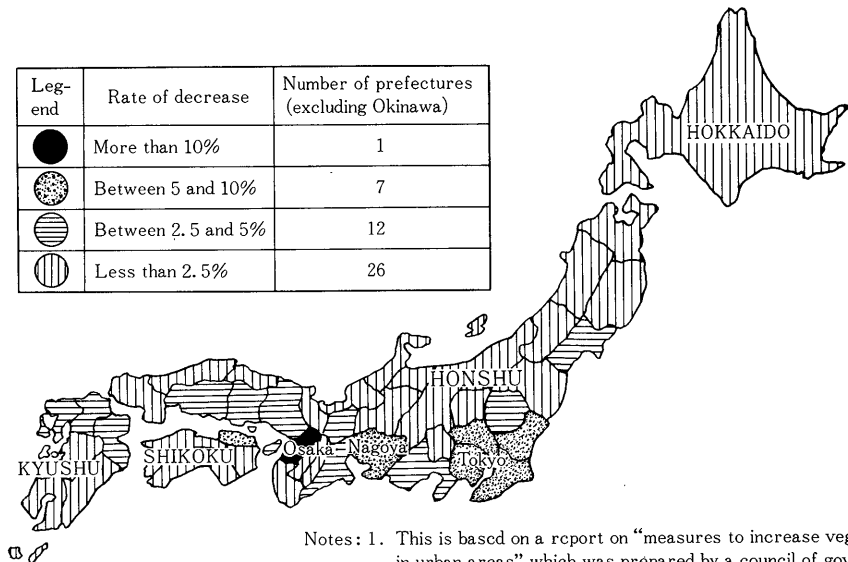
this time and industrialists were the "villains," environmentalism seemed eminently populist rather than elitist.

This phase can be called the "reactive stage." Environmental awareness was taking hold officially in the top-down policy making of national government officials, Japanese corporation owners, bureaucrat elites from the various ministries, as well as in the bottom-up policy desires of the public-at-large. During this period citizen involvement in the policy making process did not always function systematically. Nor was higher quality of life, measured in terms of aggregate amenities, the central goal of the policies generated during this *Kogai Tousou* phase. Although there was a limited amount of success in controlling the level of pollutants being discharged into the environment, the quality of life for the Japanese did not improve significantly. Virtually no thought among the members of anti-pollution movements was given at the time neither to preservation of environmental beauty and wildlife in remote areas nor to harmonizing the conservation concerns of environmentalists and the residential or use rights of local people in conservation zones. Rural conservation on a large scale remained in its infancy (Mitsuda, 1988: 4).

(4) The Growth Consolidation Phase: 1974-86

By the mid-1970s, the Japanese economy faced decelerated growth after a series of international economic crises including the Yen Revaluation of 1971, and the Oil Crises of 1973 and 1979. In 1974 the Japanese economy showed negative growth for the first time during the post-World War II period. Despite the oil crises and negative growth, the benefits of economic growth did "trickled down" to a broad spectrum of the population. The pro-growth attitudes among the general public began to decline. The Japanese people began recognize that "Our economic miracles had been purchased at enormous environmental and social costs." Economic growth was not the only consensus-based goal of the people in 1980s. Japan had become an affluent, middle-class society requiring the maintenance of amenities throughout the country. In particular, the emergent "urban-middle class" sought unpolluted natural settings as a counterpart to their urban environment. Major population concentrates in central Japan and associated with the loss of "greenery areas" (see Figure 2). Areas surrounding Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka suffered from more than a 10 percent loss in green cover between 1970 and

Figure 2. Diminishing Greenery Areas (1970—1980)



- Notes: 1. This is based on a report on "measures to increase vegetation in urban areas" which was prepared by a council of governors of prefectures with sharply rising populations in the major urban spheres.
2. Greenery areas stand for the total of forests and cultivated land for agriculture.
3. Okinawa Prefecture is excluded because no data for 1970 are available.

Source: Environment Agency (1983)

1980. People place great importance on the preservation of natural settings (Japan Environment Agency, 1983 : 27).

By 1980, 41 percent of the public felt that "environmental quality can coexist with economic growth" (Japan Prime Minister, 1981). The great majority recognized that "we should protect the natural environment because nature gives us natural amenities and peace and quiet in life." (Japan Prime Minister, 1982 and 1986) Another high percentage (approximately 45 percent) supported the protection of nature because it provides a better place to raise the next generation.

An opinion survey carried out by the Prime Minister's Central Office in 1986 showed that 49.1 percent of those surveyed preferred "spiritual affluence" to "material affluence" (Japan Prime Minister, 1986). According to another survey conducted by the National Land Agency, the proportion of urbanites who desired to live in outlying rural areas of Japan rapidly increased from nine percent in

1975 to 28 percent in 1982 (Japan National Land Agency, 1975, 1982).

As more and more people began to evaluate their lifestyles from the perspective of intangible environmental amenities rather than material ones, the protection of green-open space and wilderness emerged as a national priority. A growing majority recognized that "we should protect the natural environment and its peace and quiet life."

In 1974 the National Land Use Planning Act was passed in order to promote the development of amenity-related resources in Japan. This policy was not administered by economic planners, but rather by officials from the newly created National Land Agency. During 1972 the Nature Conservation Law was enacted. This law provided the foundation for various laws enacted subsequently such as the National Parks Law, the Urban Green Space Conservation Law and the Forest Law, all of which designed primarily to promote the well-being of Japan's natural environment. The Basic Policy on Conservation of the Natural Environment, adopted by the Diet in 1973, indicated that policy direction had begun to change.

In 1977 the Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan was adopted to improve the residential environment by increasing the amenities available to urban residents. This plan additionally called for the improvement of the social infrastructure in both metropolitan and rural areas throughout Japan. Third Comprehensive Plan was the first to focus attention, from ecological perspectives, on the "participatory approach" for the creation of quality of life. The fourth phase of Japanese environmentalism was set into motion with the Oil Crisis of 1973. The Oil Crisis sobered the pro-growth enthusiasts and people in general became aware that an urban standard of living was unsatisfactory. The large cities were unable to provide the environmental amenities available to residents of rural areas in Japan. As more and more people began to evaluate their lifestyles from an ecological rather than a material perspective, the environmental movement was also bound to shift.

The anti-development groups constituted the core of the Japanese environmental movement, not only because controversial development projects such as nuclear power stations, airports and highway construction were so widespread in the whole country, but also because the lifestyle of the general public shifted from pro-growth attitude to an ecologically sound attitude (Hase, 1981). Most of

the anti-development movements were small but active groups, starting as organizations of amateurs without sufficient financial funds, experiences and experts. (There were several exceptions of the national organizations such as The Japanese Society for the Protection of Nature which protested the construction of highways in the Japan Alps and Japan National Trust Movement which protected wilderness in remote areas.)

The motivation behind the anti-development movement was the activists' life experiences based on 'peace and quiet' life and natural beauty. The characteristics of the movement were rather different from those of the anti-pollution movement. The anti-development movement criticized not only the myths of economic growth and progress in our modern society, but also the ideology of the anti-pollution movement that was too "shallow" (on the distinction of "deep/shallow", see Naess, 1973). This new wave of environmental activism was inclined to provide critique of early environmentalism as well as the anthropocentric idea of modern industrial society as a whole, with influence from the new social movements.

(5) Rejuvenation of Environmentalism Phase: 1987-91

In 1980s Japanese international trade went fully into the black and the Japanese government continued to be pressured internationally in order to solve the surpergrowth of excess-exports and the huge trade surplus problems with all other countries, in particular, the United States.

Under this international pressure, the Japanese government induced the policy of domestic demand expansion and invested in the socio-economic infrastructure developments such as highways, Shinkansen (Bullet Express Railway), airports constructions, development of information network systems, and housing development all over the country. These projects aimed at creating a better quality of life in Japan. As a result, the economic high growth revived and expanded in the late 1980s. The "Bubble Economy" since 1986 climaxed by 1990.

The fourth Comprehensive National Development Plan and the Resort Development Law in 1987 vitalized the local economy even in the periphery regions. The latter stimulated the construction of golf courses, ski grounds and marinas. These resort developments dramatically destroyed country-side natural settings (Sato, 1990).

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The Japanese environmental movement changed as it entered the late 1980's. The profound socio-economic transformations permitted the environmental movement to become more conservative and more ecological. A more radical, urban-based environmental movement gradually searched for an alternative way of life and yielded to a more rural conservative perspective which, while retaining certain populist aspects, had adopted elitist earmarks.

The supporters of this ecological movement have much respect for the ecosystem and distrust modern technology. They believe that humans live in and are dependent on the global ecosystem and must seek ways of living that do little damage to both human and non human life. This kind of new environmental movement is rather normative and philosophical, which is inspired in part by a deep-ecologically sound lifestyle. Most of the supporters come from well-educated, rather high income and professional level occupations, recognizing themselves as upper-middle class in lifestyle. For example, the members of Shiretoko National Trust Movement are twice as likely to be university graduates as the general public. Approximately one-fourth of them have professional occupations. Interestingly, factory workers and salaried workers are very rare in this movement, and 51.7 percent are female and 20.8 percent are housewives (Mitsuda, 1988: 115-116).

Many young people and housewives today, who remain in a marginal position in the modern business society, participate in ecological movements such as the recycling movement, the green consumers' movement, the organic farming movement and the anti-nuke movement, in search for an alternative lifestyle in order to change mass-production, mass-consumption and mass-waste way of life in modern Japanese society. But their thought of an alternative lifestyle is not predominant among the Japan public today. However, a large number of people show their interest and agree with the ecological movement.

Global environmental issues emerged in the 1980s. Surprisingly a high level of public concern with and support for global environmental protection became nationwide. A poll survey conduct by the Prime Minister's office in 1988 showed that 59.7 percent of respondents indicated the global environmental problems as the most serious problem to be solved (Japan Prime Minister, 1988). These global environmental problems include the greenhouse effect, the depletion of ozone layer, the acid rain, the diminishing rainforest and endangered species and so on.

The mass media continue to focus on the crisis of the environment from the local to the global level. The "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, 1992 was the highlight for both the government and the environmental NGO groups.

This stage of environmentalism can be summarized as a movement shifting from the "shallow" stage to "deep" ecological movement. The general public began to recognize that many environmental problems, from the community level to the global level, results from our modern lifestyle. They want to create and participate in "the learning society" of the alternative lifestyles such as the green co-op organization, which emerged recently nationwide.

(6) The Collapse of the "Bubble Economy" Phase : 1992-present

The economic growth began to decline at the end of 1989. In January, 1991, the Japanese economy dropped because of the heavy fall of the stock market and the "Bubble Economy", which started around 1987, and collapsed in 1992. The government announced the comprehensive emergent economic counterplan against this economic depression.

After the collapse of the Bubble Economy, environmental groups and environmental policy makers were afraid of the negative influence of this economic depression on the public support for environmentalism. But unexpectedly, the people remained highly concerned with environmental problems and strongly supported environmental movements. A public opinion survey indicated that more than 90 percent of people are concerned with environmental problems and supported the movements (Japan Prime Minister, 1993). Contemporary environmentalism continue to develop as the ecological movement by the vast supporters and becomes more diverse and stronger than what it was as anti-pollution movement.

However, the diverse nature of contemporary environmentalism results in the internal conflicts within and among the groups, stating their goals, strategies, ideologies, and, in particular, debates about the causes of environmental destruction. The more diverse and vast the environmental movement becomes, the more difficult and complex the problems that the movement have. After the "Earth Summit" of 1992 most of the leaders of environmental NGOs withdraw from their activities because of fading enthusiasm of supporters and the shortage of its funds (Mainichi Shinbun, 1993).

The leaders are presently reflecting their failure not to muster the public

enthusiasm and support of the 1980s into their environmental movements. Many leading environmentalists are reconsidering how to remedy their environmental elitism and recreate the movements into real citizen-based movements, in search for a sustainable movement for generating the ecologically sustainable society.

CONCLUSION: FUTURE OF ENVIRONMENTALISM IN JAPAN

In conclusion, the challenges for the future of environmentalism in Japan should be discussed.

Recent poll surveys confirm that the environmentalism succeeds in increasing supports from the general populace in Japan. According to a poll survey on the environmental preservation (Japan Prime Minister, 1993), 44 percent of the public recognized that global environmental problems threaten their daily lives very seriously and 64 percent remained highly concerned with environmental problems at their communities levels such as waste and sewage problems from their homes. The Green Consumer Movement (avoiding to buy products which harm the environment) and the reduction of waste at home, are widely practiced by the public. 61 percent of people reported that they make efforts to solve their daily-life environmental problems.

However, less than 5 percent respondents participate in environmental organizations intending to protect the environment. The most of the public hesitate to take part in the environmental organizations, because they dislike environmental elitism in these organizations and they see the ecocentric idea of environmentalists as too radical. They also criticize environmentalists because the movement is apt to ignore the poverty and the social inequity in the periphery of Japan as well as in developing countries when they are devoted to soul-searching with respect to nature and debate concerning the rights of nature. Environmental elitism will remain one of the most difficult problems faced by the Japanese environmental groups in the future.

The international poll survey (Dunlap, 1992) compared international attitudes toward the environment and economic growth among the citizens in 22 nations. It indicates that the Japanese environmental attitude is very different from citizens of the industrial and advanced societies. On the concern for global environmental problems, the Japanese showed the lowest level among the industrial

societies and only a few percent of the Japanese wanted to participate in environmental movements. There is no doubt that the Japanese public learns a lot concerning crucial environmental problems at national and international levels. However, the people do not always take the responsibilities for halting these environmental problems. "Vast knowledge with low responsibility" is the typical environmental attitude among the Japanese public. The lack of responsibility for solving the global environmental problems will also become crucial for Japanese environmentalism in the future.

Instrumental environmentalism becomes prevalent among the contemporary Japanese environmental groups. Early environmentalism in Japan was the "intrinsic environmentalism" supported by the grass roots people in order to protect the environment at the community and local level. However, contemporary environmentalism shifts towards the "instrumental environmentalism" employed for political ends among the movement's leaders in order to gain the political power and leverage in environmental controversies. "Is environmentalism an ultimate end or an instrumental goal?" will be a crucial question for all environmentalists.

The environmentalism in Japan will have to challenge these problems to enhance their capability and sustainability in solving environmental problems in Japan and in the world.

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